Attention of Mr. Hoov[illegible]

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Seattle, Wash,	Aug.10,1922	Aug.9,1922	R. E. Skelly

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. I. W. W. ACTIVITIES GENERAL.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

File 15942-300-M.

APPROVED By F. W. KELLY Agent in Charge

-12

At Seattle, Washington:

Agent is attaching to this report copy of a communication addressed to subject orgamization from the INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE, held in Berlin, under date of June 16, 17, 18 and 19.

This communication is extremely interesting as it tends to show that revolutionary syndicalism tactics are being accepted by the I.W.W., and certain paragraphs openly advocate force and violence.

Investigation Continued.

10/21/12 Seattle Wash

SEP 11 1922

61-1225-12

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Orig.

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: New York; Chicago; San Francisco; Butte, Portland.

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Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty has stated that there are no political prisoners in America. He refers to those convicted of war-time offenses as "so-called political prisoners." **But Mr. Daugherty is mistaken. Every one of the 114 war prisoners is held behind the bars today solely for his political or economic opinions, manifested in one form or another.** This is a concrete fact, not a theory nor a partisan interpretation, but a fact supported by the records of the courts.

COURTS CHANGE PRISONERS' LEGAL STATUS

Conviction of the 98 Industrial Workers was obtained in three trials held at Chicago, Wichita and Sacramento at the height of the war hysteria. These defendants were indicted on industrial counts. Their legal status has been changed vitally since their conviction, either by the action of the appeals courts in reversing the trial verdicts on some of the counts or by reason of the defendants having served the portion of the sentence specified under particular counts.

Whatever time any of the I. W. W. defendants have yet to serve is based on the war counts—and in every instance the war counts were set down against them either because of their opinions expressed orally or in writing against the United States entering into what they had reason to believe was a commercial war or because they were members of an organization hated by the ruling class.

In both the Chicago and the Wichita cases the appeals courts found that the prosecuting authorities had failed to prove that the defendants were guilty of any crime as charged in the industrial counts. **The judges ruled that the organized workers were entirely within their rights when they struck for better working conditions even in time of war.**

Each of the Chicago defendants was sentenced to two years in prison on one of the war counts. They began serving that sentence at Leavenworth early in September, 1918; and each of them has served his sentence on that count. So each Chicago defendant is now serving time solely for alleged violation of the Espionage Act—for an alleged conspiracy to cause insubordination in the military and naval forces and to obstruct recruiting and enlistment by means of personal solicitation, speeches and writings in newspapers and pamphlets.

This is the identical charge on which Eugene V. Debs was sent to prison. Debs himself has said of the I. W. W. prisoners: "There is not one in the number who is more guilty than I, nor one who does not as well deserve release." And again Debs said: "We who have been favored (?) are only half free while such men as Larkin, Gitlow and others, including the shamefully outraged members of the I. W. W., whose brutal sentences impeach the courts that convicted them, are still behind the bars."

Twenty-five of the Wichita defendants were released by the appeals court when it reversed the case on the count which alleged industrial sabotage; they had already served the year allotted on three other charges. Five of the Wichita men remain in Leavenworth on the war count, their position being exactly that of those convicted at Chicago.

Distinguishing the Sacramento case from the two other prose-

Mr. Daugherty is Mistaken!

There ARE political prisoners in the United States—114 of them—despite the Attorney General's statements to the contrary. Here are the facts.

THREE years and more have elapsed since the signing of the armistice, yet 114 war-time prisoners still remain in federal penitentiaries. These men were convicted under the Espionage Act and kindred war laws designed to silence opposition to the war in any form. Four of the prisoners are in McNeil's Island Prison, Washington, and the others are held in Leavenworth. Among the 114 there are 98 members of the Industrial Workers of the World who are now serving sentence solely for alleged expression of political opinion.

Continued retention of these men behind the bars is an indictment against the present federal administration. There is no legitimate excuse for keeping them imprisoned now that Debs and others held for similar beliefs have been let out.

Every other nation has released all who were imprisoned in the name of the war. In the United States all individuals actually convicted as spies—persons who worked in secret against the American government—have long since been restored to freedom. The conscientious objectors have been released; Congress suspended the Espionage Act in March, 1921; peace has been officially declared with the nation's late enemies; trade with Germany goes on briskly; the hymns of hatred sung with such gusto a little while ago have been forgotten. Great quantities of copper, cotton and other commodities are being shipped from this country to Germany. Keeping 114 men in prison for opposing the war is inconsistent with the expressed aims and purposes of the recent disarmament conference.

DEFENDANTS PROSECUTED AS WORKERS

Practically all of the 114 are men who worked with their hands and who were prosecuted and sentenced as workers, prosecuted because of their activities in organizing their kind against exploitation by the war profiteers. Eleven tenant-farmers from Oklahoma and Texas are included in the group, and there are two clergymen, two writers and a lawyer.

The large majority of the war prisoners are holding out steadfastly for general amnesty. They refuse to apply for individual clemency on the ground that they were convicted not as individuals but as members of an organization which big commercial interests wanted to destroy. Among those who insist most strongly in their demands for general amnesty are members of the I. W. W. serving twenty-year sentences. They feel that application for individual release would be a violation of the ideals and principles for which they have given years of effort and sacrifice in and out of prison.

C O P Y

1450

Berlin, July 1, 1922.

To the General Executive Board of the
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Dear Comrades and Fellow Workers:

Your letter of June 1st, addressed to the International Syndicalist Conference that was held in Berlin on June 16,17,18 and 19 was read at that Conference and was received by it with great interest and sympathy.

We enclose herewith the four resolutions carried by the Conference - in each case unanimously:-

1 - On the principles and tactics of Revolutionary Syndicalism.
2 - On the International Organization of Syndicalists.
3 - On the Constitution of an International Bureau.
4 - On the Revolutionary Syndicalist activities of minorities.

As you will see, these resolutions agree, in the main, with the ideas as set forth in your statement to the Conference. This fact is all the more important as it brings into line, for one common end, the revolutionary syndicalist and industrial movements of both continents, lends greater scope to the international fight against world capitalism and welds together the anti-political revolutionary labor movement in its derermination not to allow politicians of any shape or color to lay their disintegrating hands on the world labor movement.

We fully hope that you will agree with the resolutions carried, and that in accordance with the expressed wish of the Conference itself as well as of the International Bureau at its first sitting, you will nominate your representative on this Bureau with whom we shall immediately get into close touch for the further work of the Bureau. As decided by the Conference, the F.A.U. of Germany elects one of its members to act as deputy for each member of the Bureau residing outside of Germany with the right to take part in the deliberations of the Bureau in the absence of the actual member. It was also decided that all communications on matters of detail would be signed by the General Secretary of the Bureau; that all convening notices, statements of fact and other communications in which no questions of "principle" are involved but which, for greater impressiveness, should bear the names of all members, would be issued under the signatures of these without preliminary correspondence; but that incases of manifestos, statements of communications, touching upon matters of principle and necessitating the opposition of all the members' signatures, the matter is first referred to the actual members of the Bureau (by convening a special meeting or by post) who decided upon the action to be taken.

This arrangement will do away with much loss of time in correspondence upon small trifles and will render the work of the Bureau less difficult and more resultful.

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We also ask you to publish the resolutions in the I.W.W. press in America and notify your readers and your locals that the World Congress of Revolutionary Labor Organizations will be held in Berlin on November 12th, 1922 and days following.

We are sending you under separate cover copies of the Bulletin issued on the eve of the Berlin Conference (in German and French). We hope that some of the articles may be found useful for publication in the different official organs of the I.W.W. Henceforth the Bulletin will be published in the English language as well.

A full report of the proceedings of the Conference will be forwarded as soon as ready. Hoping to hear soon from you and wishing you great success in the wonderful work the I.W.W. is doing in America,

We remain, for International Solidarity,

Fraternally yours,

THE PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS

(Signed) Rudolph Rocker, General Secretary

Members: BORGHI (Italy); JENSEN (Scandinavia); PESTANA (Spain); SCHAPIRO (Russia)

The INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE adopts the following theses concerning the principlws and tactics of revolutionary Syndicalism:

1 - Revolutionary Syndicalism is the movement of the active masses, based on the class struggle and aiming to combine all brain and manual workers in economic fighting organizations, for the purpose of emancipating them from wage slavery and governmental oppression.

The ultimate object of Revolutionary Syndicalism in the reorganization of the whole social life on the foundation of free communism, by the united revolutionary efforts of the working classes themselves.

Revolutionary Syndicalism holds that only the economic organizations of the proletariat can accomplish these ends, and it therefore turns to the workers, in their capacity as the producers and creators of all social values, - in contradistinction to the modern political labor parties within the sphere of which constructive economic aims play no part.

2 - Revolutionary Syndiaalism is the out spoken enemy of all economic and social monopoly. It atrives for their abolition by the organization of economic communes, the industries to be conducted by the industrial and agrarian workers themselves, through the system of free Soviets, independent of any political power or party.

Against the politics of State and Party, Revolutionary Syndicalism puts the economic organization of labor in place of government of men, management of things, for this reason Revolutionary Syndicalism does not aim at the conquest of political power; on the contrary, it strives to eliminate all the functions of the State from the life of society. It holds that together with the monopoly of ownership must also disappear the monopoly of government; and that the State, in whatever form, - even in the form of the so-called Dictatorship of the Proletariat - can never serve the emancipation of labor, but

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must ever prove a hindrance, the creator of new monopolies and new privileges.

3 - The aim of Revolutionary Syndicalism is twofold: on the one hand it conducts the revolutionary struggle, day by day, for the economic, moral and ehtical improvement of the workers within the existing social order; on the other hand it strives to educate and prepare the masses for the conduct and management of the industries, by themselves, to fit them for the adequate organization of production and distribution, and of all the other branches of social life.

Revolutionary Syndicalism holds that the organization of a socia-economic order, which bases itself entirely on the producers, cannot be regulated by the laws and decrees of State or Government. It can be accomplished only by the combined effort of all the workers, laboring with hand or brain, in each particular industry; namely, by the taking over of the conduct of every branch of industry by the workers of that branch themselves, and in such a manner that every group, branch and industry functions as an independent, autonomous member of the whole economic organization, and all co-operating, on the basis of mutual agreements, in the work of general and systematic production and distribution in the interest of the whole community.

4 - Revolutionary Syndicalism is the enemy of all centralistic movements and organizations, founded as they are on the principles of State and Church, and which systematically suppress independent thought and initiative. Centralism is the artificial organization from above, which transfers the regulation of the arrairs of the individual, of the small groups, in all their complexity, to the few in power.

By these means the individual is turned into a will-less object, controlled and manipulated from above. The interests of the whole are thus subordinated to the privileges of the few, variety made uniform, personal responsibility converted into dead disciplind, and education turned into mere drilling.

For these reasons Revolutionary Syndicalism stands for the principle of federation; that is, for the organization from below, for the voluntary co-operation of all energies on the basis of the common interests and views.

5 - Revolutionary Syndicalism repudiates all parliamentary activity and participation in governmental bodies. Even the freest suffrage is powerless to alter the extreme social contrasts existing in present society. The whole parliamentary system serves but the purpose of masking social injustice and hypocrisy with the appearance of legal right: to induce the slaves to sancion their slavery with the seal of the Law.

6 - Revolutionary Syndicalism repudiates all arbitrarily set political and national boundaries. In nationalism it sees only the religion of the modern State, behind which are hidden the interests o of the possessing classes. Revolutionary Sundicalism recognises only regional differences, and demands for every group of people the right to regulate its own affairs, in soladaric co-operation

1453

with all other economic, regional or country organizations.

7 - For the same reasons Revolutionary Syndicalism fights against militarism in every form, and considers the anit-militarist propaganda as one of its most important activities in the struggle against the existing social order, This includes refusal of military service, and the organized boycott by the workers of the manufacture of the implements of war.

8 - Revolutinnary Syndicalism stands for direct action and supports every struggle of the people not opposed to its aims, the abolition of economic nomopolies and the domination of the State. It recogonizes as its methods the strike, the boycott, sabotage, etc. Direct action finds its highest expression in the social general strike, in which the syndicalists at the same time also see the beginning of the Social Revolution.

9 - Opponents of organized violence in the hands of any revolutionary government, the syndicalists yet realise that the decisive struggle between capitalism in power and coming socialism will not terminate without a severe conflict. They therefore recognize violence as a means of defense against the methods of violence on the part of the ruling classes, in the attempt of the revolutionary people to take possession of the industries and of the land.

The expropriation of theindustries and of the land must be carried out, in actual practice, by the economic organizations of the workers and by them directed into the channels of social reorganization. Similarly the defense of the Revolution is up to the workers themselves, through their economic bodies, and must by no means be left to any military or other organization formed outside of the workers' econimic organizations.

10 - Only within the revolutionary economic organizations of the laboring masses is to be found the lever of their emancipation and the creative power to reorganize society in the spirit of free Communism.

Resolution No.2

The preliminary International Conference declares,
The fundamentals of the revolutionary-syndicalist organizations as embodied in the theses and unanumously accepted by the delegates at te the preliminary Conference, are not merely the result of the discussions at the Conference - they were also expressive of the reports of the revolutionary-syndicalist and industrial organizations not present at the Conference.

2, The Red Trade Union I ternational neither from the point of principle nor on the ground of its statutes represents an International organization that could conbine the revolutionary Proletarist of the whole world into one militant, fighting organization. The Conference therefore decides to create an International Bureau which is to issue an immediate call for a world Congress of the revolutionary-syndicalist organizations - the Congress to take place November, 12th to the 19th, 1922.
In the hope that the labor bodies now adhering to the Red Trade Union

nternational may pa.ticipate in the forthcoming International world ongress and there may help to establish the necessary basis for the gathering of all the revolutionary syndicalist forces of the world into one and the same body the Bureau is instructed to forward the decesions of the preliminary International Conference to the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International.

Resolution No. 3

The Conference of the revolutionary-syndicalist and industrialist has agreed upon the formation of an International Bureau.

2 - The Bureau consists of a - three members of the revolutionary-syndicalist organizations of the country where the bureau will be located.

b - one member each of the syndicalist organizations of other countries belonging to the Bureau.

3 - Revolutionary-Syndicalist organizations in various countries who will join the Bureau are entitled to a seat in the Bureau.

In the country where the secretariat of the Bureau is located one substitute for each member of the Bureau is to be chosen. The latter may participate in the sittings of the Bureau which does not deliberate upon questions of principle.

The purpose and aim of the Bureau is to carry out the decisions of the International Syndicalist and Industrialist Conference held in Berlin June 16-19th, 1922.

Resolution No. 4

eliminary International revolutionary-syndicalist conference the representatives of the revolutionary-syndicalist minorities o up and strengthen the revolutionary propaganda in their respec- ntries. Also to carry their work into the labor organiza- y belong to and there to keep up a constant, vigilant fight ctory of the ideas and principles of revolutionary syndic-

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TB JR CODE August 16 1922

ROONEY

FADERAL BLDG.

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WIRE ESTIMATE PRESENT PAID UP ALSO NOT PAID UP MEMBERSHIP INDUSTRIAL WORKERS WORLD. RUSH. STOP TWO.

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August 21, 1922.

61-1225

Mr. E. V. O'Connor,
Commissioner,
United States Shipping Board,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Connor,-

I am enclosing for your information a general summary of the files of the Bureau of Investigation upon the Industrial Workers of the World.

In view of the interest evinced by you in the activities of this organization I shall be very glad indeed, if you so desire, to forward to you, from time to time, copies of such reports as are received upon the activities of the Marine Transport Workers.

If there is any further service which this Bureau may be able to render to you in this matter, do not hesitate to advise me.

Very truly yours,

Director.

(Enclosure 137867)

61-1225-16

ADDRESS REPLY TO DIRECTOR,
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
AND REFER TO INITIALS.

JEH*H

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation,

Washington.

1942

61-1225

August 14, 1922.

Memorandum for Mr. Baughman:

Will you kindly prepare immediately memorandum brief upon I. W. W., embracing -

(a) Membership and scope of the I.W.W.

(b) Purposes and importance of the organization.

(c) Activities in the United States in recent years.

(d) Status of relation to federal and respective state laws.

(e) Any other information which will assist in the consideration of the question of efficiency in employing its members on American Shipping Board vessels.

I am informed that the Shipping Board is contemplating ~~borrowing~~ I.W.W. labor on its vessels, but in order to take such action desires to be supplied with all information in our possession concerning the organization and its membership.

I suggest that you communicate with Miss Gandy in order to obtain the data in the files of this division upon the I.W.W. as you will recall that former informant [redacted] prepared an extensive brief upon the same, which will be of value. b7D

In preparing this memorandum give particular attention to acts of sabotage upon the part of members of the organization, as specific acts of this character are what the Shipping Board desires to have before it for

its information.

I will appreciate it if you will give this matter immediate attention, as the brief should be in my hands not later than Wednesday evening.

Respectfully,

E. H.

1442

JEH*H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/22/82 BY SP6Cpa/Bwz

September 1, 1922.

61-1225-

Mr. T. V. O'Connor,
Commissioner,
United States Shipping Board,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Connor,

I enclose for your information memorandum upon the connection of the Industrial Workers of the World with International revolutionary matters. I thought you would be interested in going over this information.

Very truly yours,

Director.

(Enclosure 127278)

MAILED
SEP 1 1922

61-1225-17

IN REPLY REFER TO

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD

WASHINGTON

August 22, 1922.

Mr. M. J. Burns, Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

61-1225-

Dear Mr. Burns:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter of August 21, 1922, together with enclosure 127267 giving a general summary of the files of the Bureau of Investigation upon Industrial Workers of the World.

We are very glad indeed to have this complete report and would appreciate receiving, from time to time, any additional data you may have regarding the activities of this organization.

Very truly yours,

T. V. O'Connor
Commissioner

TVOC/WP

Read by
SEP 1 1922
M. J. Burns.

61-1225-18